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ABSTRACT

Concepts of development and non-formal education that are needed for the Third World must be broader than a development based on economic growth; they must include not only distribution, but redistribution of existing wealth. Consequently, most new developmental strategies are concerned with placing priority on those groups which are the poorest. Non-formal and adult education is more likely to have a direct impact on the urban and rural poor than formal education. An instrument of political and economic change, non-formal education plays an important role in stimulating participation in decision-making. Another area of concern for adult education is the educating of educators and policymakers which allows both the masses and the leaders to change along the same lines. Further surveys of adult education provision are needed in order to extend coverage to the large portion of the population wihch is presently not being reached. There is an immediate need for establishment or expansion of research, training, and resource centers in adult education. An integrated approach to planning, which relates adult education to other inputs, and the need for increased involvement of the population in development planning continue to be challenges for planners and educators. (EA)

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Non-formal Education, Redistribution of Wealth and Production

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Non-Formal Education, Redistribution of Wealth and Production

The first development Decade broughtwith it a concern with economic growth. The welfare of the people of the Third World was seen to depend on the ever growing per capita GNP. Education was "discovered" by the economists as having an investment function and human resources development became a fundamental way of viewing this investment. By the middle of the 1970's however it had become clear that a concept of development based on economic growth as expressed by changes in per capita GNP had severe deficiencies. As a recent study by the World Bank and the Institute of Development Studies has pointed out, "Although the average per capita income in the Third World has risen by 50 per cent since 1960, this growth has been unequally distributed among regions within countries and socio-economic groups" (Chenery et al, 1974). The 1970's have given rise to the concept of 'growth without development', a situation which results from a very large share of the income going to a narrow segment of the population. This situation is characterised by growing urban-rural differentiation in both income terms and in the provision of social services. Within urban situations it is characterised by growing differentiation in income and social service provision between the upper classes and lower classes. Grandstaff in discussing the role of non-formal education in an expanded concept of development has suggested that the concept of development based on the economic growth concept has omitted several factors crucial to a more sophisticated consideration of development. These include:

1. The need to deal with humanitarian and survival needs;
2. The role of popular participation in development planning;
3. The question of the distribution of wealth;

4. The fact that growth concepts of development had been based on assumptions about the desirability of urbanisation and did not adequately fit those predominantly rural nations;
5. The fact that employment is increasingly seen as a goal in itself and not merely a factor in the development process. (Grandstaff, 1972).

The world food crisis provides at least one example of the weaknesses of the GNP growth concept of development. In per capita GNP terms, as we have already pointed out, there has been 50 per cent increase in per capita GNP since 1960 in the Third World. From a growth point of view, this might show some progress. When, however, one tries to use this as an index of development, a great deal is hidden. In the case of food, what is hidden is that the poorest nations and the poorest people within nations do not have enough to eat. Increasingly the world food crisis is being seen as a crisis of poverty, an increase in the number of people unable to find the means of their subsistence. Joy has said "the basic fact about the nutrition problem is that it is primarily a poverty problem: a problem of ineffective demand rather than of ineffective supply: for food not just for protein" (Joy, 1973: 5). Even for those who do not agree that the shortage of food on such a large scale is caused by insufficient demand would have to admit that, at the very least, the view of development based on economic growth has helped to obscure the analysis which would have pointed out such serious imbalances before they occurred.

The concept of development which is needed therefore must be broader and include the distributive elements. It is necessary that the concept includes not only distribution, but redistribution of existing wealth. Given that economic growth, may be slow or

even non-existent in many nations for some time, it is necessary to be concerned with redistribution within economies. The World Bank study of non-formal education and rural development provides a view of rural development which could, with little modification, serve a general purpose. This conception of development includes, "more equitable distribution of income and land, increased rural employment, improved health, housing, advocation and general living conditions for all people in running their own affairs, greater integration of urban and rural areas and a narrowing of the economic gap between them" along with maintaining the concern with increased agricultural production. (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974: 234). It is clear that the implementation of these goals would mean quite thorough and radical transformations of society, an aspect which Coombs has dealt with the least satisfactorily. Malcolm Adiseshiah, President of the International Council for Adult Education has said, in a discussion on education and productive work, that certain pre-conditions are necessary before education has a chance to play an effective role. One of these preconditions, "Is for our society to become truly democratic, which means that the unorganized disinherited rural masses should be organized to play their role in decision-making and the present monopoly of power and property by us, the upper and middle classes, ended" (Adiseshiah, 1974: 150).

Development strategies based on an enlarged view of development are beginning to emerge in various countries and agencies concerned with development. Most new strategies concern themselves with attempts to place priority on those groups which are the poorest. One of the most thorough attempts at poverty focused planning has been the ILO Employment Mission report to Kenya whi[illegible]

among other things, recommended a focus on the "working poor" of Nairobi (I.L.O. 1972). The ILO report also made suggestions about ways of transfering wealth through an incomes policy that would freeze high level wages. The less than rapid movement to implement the far reaching reforms underlines one of the fundamental weaknesses in the poverty focused development strategies; the fact that those people in control or closely linked to control are the ones who stand to lose the most in any radical restructuring of distribution of income or wealth (Leys 1975: 58). The great strength of the poverty focused development strategies however is the continuing attention it gives to imbalances rather than the oversimplified lumping together of population averages under former approaches.

The Role of non-formal education

The fundamental problem for adult and non-formal educators is that of elaborating the ways in which non-formal education relate to the modified concepts of development. How does adult education relate to questions of income distribution?

1. Non-formal education is already reaching the poor. Adult educators have known for years what planners have only recently found out, that "the pattern of allocation of education expenditures is strongly discriminatory against the poor" (Chenery, et al, 1974: 154). This is so because of the high proportion of funds devoted to formal secondary and university education, education which reaches those who come largely from highly educated or higher income families. In comparison with formal schooling, the provision to non-formal education is often directed towards groups who have lower incomes and less access to social services - It is already "poverty

focused". By far the largest proportion of existing adult education expenditure goes towards programmes, such as literacy (functional and traditional), agricultural extension, community development, health education, co-operative education and many forms of worker education and in-service training. Planning based on concepts of distribution will need to give a much higher priority to adult education.

2. Non-formal and adult education is more likely to have a direct impact on the urban and rural poor than is formal education.

There are several reasons for this. In the first place one is dealing directly with the productive forces, with the adult population. Skills learned by this group have the chance to be put into effect directly, not after several years. In the second place the impact of formal education is likely to be more effective if there is an environment which is more receptive to new ideas and change. The third reason involves the relationship between rural and urban poor. Studies of urban growth and migration in African cities dramatically show the links between formal school leaving and growing urban poverty. In contrast, non-formal education is less likely to feed/because it often deals with practical skills and basic education for established adults within a community.

rural-urban migration patterns

3. Non-Formal Education is important in stimulating participation in decision-making. Experience in several African nations including Senegal, Botswana and Tanzania has shown that the problem of involving the population in

development or planning decisions is complex and difficult. It is not enough merely to create structures or administrative frameworks for discussion and popular involvement. Years of authoritarian administrative structure where decisions are made at the top and passed on to those below have resulted in a strong sense of dependency among many who have never been seen to be capable of meaningful contributions. If people are not seen to be useful in a decision making process at any level, they soon begin to believe in this themselves. The sense of being 'marginal men' has been quite fully discussed in the work of Freire (Freire, 1972) and discussed in the TANU Party Guidelines (Tanu, 1971) of Tanzania.

An important role for non-formal education then is the encouragement and stimulation of this participatory process. For example in Botswana a network of village development committees has been created, but they have not yet begun to function in the full sense which is intended. In order to assist the working of these committees, the Botswana Extension College and the Department of Extra-Mural Studies operate training programmes in organizing meetings using dramatisations of actual problems. Similarly the EMP project in Senegal has, on a small scale, shown how an entire community can be actively involved in an analysis of needs and attempted solutions (Le Brun, 1974). It must be noted that the EMP project has also pointed out the difficulties of encouraging a thorough analysis of the political and economic reality when little likelihood exists in the larger system for the kinds of radical changes necessary in order to allow full development of this increased

consciousness. The mass campaigns in Tanzania and Botswana offer a still further example of how non-formal education can provide the experience in participatory decision making that will make more likely, increasing popular involvement in the development process. (Hall, 1975, Colclough and Crowley, 1974).

4. Non-formal education as an instrument of political and economic change.

Time after time, when the persistent and pressing concerns of development are examined, one finds the warning that solutions are only likely to be effective if there is a radical restructuring of the social and economic infrastructure. These words, far from being the content of radical political movements, are found within the documents of the World Bank, the pages of such major international studies as the Faure Report and the policy documents from Bi-lateral aid agencies. (IBRD: 1974; Faure et al, 1973, Hilliard, 1974, Edstrom, 1974) This can be seen from the perspective of adult education as well. The improvement in the quality of life of the rural masses depends on much more than the input of non-formal education programmes. It means the establishment of rural credit structures which do not favour the already wealthy farmers, the establishment of price structures that encourage production, improved marketing arrangements which guarantee the sale and vast improvements in the distribution of services such as health, water and transportation. It is often suggested that such fundamental shifts are unlikely to occur unless fundamental political economic changes are made. There are

potentially two functions which adult education might fulfil in such a process. The first is as a means of raising consciousness. Conscientization, the term made common by Freire, refers to a process of education based on dialogue which has as its purpose the increased awareness by the participants of not only the complex factors which effect their lives but of their own power in changing these factors. By this process people can be brought fully into a process of political change.

A second potential task for adult education is that of educating the educators and policymakers. This is an area that adult educators have been involved in for some time. Political change of a substantial nature needs an education process which allows the masses and the leaders both the opportunity to change along the same lines. There is a danger when the masses and leaders are far out of step with one another. Adult education has been involved in leadership education for years. Many of the Independence leaders were active in adult education movements or organisations. The principle of active involvement in political education is perhaps most evident in nations which are seeking to follow newer paths. In Zambia, Citizenship College plays such a role while in Tanzania Kivukoni College continues to explain in its role as the TANU ideological center.

Considerations for Adult Educators

1. Non-formal education and production

One of the more important observations resulting from a study of the relationship of education to development is the desirability of directly linking education to work. The 1974 conference on Education and Training and Alternatives in Education in African countries, held in Tanzania (Dag Hammarskjold, 1974), and the Coombs report on non-formal education have both stressed the importance of linking education to production (Coombs and Ahmed, 1974). This is an area in which adult education has a long record of experience and where it can offer useful lessons to formal education.

The reasons for linking education with production which come out of the Dag Hammarskjold conference in Dar included:

a. The lowering of the cost of expansion of physical facilities. This example is perhaps best illustrated by the Brigades approach to development in Botswana, where students learn construction skills during the building of their own classrooms (Van Rensburg, 1974). This possibility is more and more attractive as African nations, with the exception of Nigeria and perhaps Angola, are being very hard hit by international oil prices and the general slowing down of western industrial economies.

b. Increased relevance, learning efficiency and effectiveness. Perhaps the most compelling reasons for maintaining and extending the direct links of non-formal education are those dealing with the benefits that derive from the combining of learning with doing, a principle which formal

education often calls for, but one which it has much to learn from non-formal adult programmes. Linking education to production provides an environment where skills and ideas can be modified and adapted to actual working conditions most effectively. Those skills or lessons taught which are not useful in a production process are very quickly discarded. On the other hand, problems in a production process, and this is true of either industrial or agricultural processes, are also quickly brought into a study environment, so potential improvements and modifications can be discussed and solutions found. This process can be seen often in Farm Training centres when farmers come for short courses on new ideas in agriculture. Those suggestions which are not practical meet immediately with a protest as those who have worked in this setting know only too well. Similar experiences are clear to all who have been involved in various in-service training schemes in industry, or even teaching.

c. Surplus value is created while education is taking place.

Still another reason for supporting increased links with production is that this potentially offers a way for increasing the rate of accumulation of surplus at the same time as education is occurring. This improvement would be dramatic in the case of schooling for children, but substantial increases in accumulation can occur through expansion of links with production in adult education. It is important in these cases, however, to make certain that the surplus incomes, or services, which do occur through this process are distributed in a manner consistent with the overall policies of reducing inequalities.

2. Access to non-formal education

Because of the distributive focus of the expanded concepts of development there is a need for studies of the adult education provision in terms of both ease of entry and the population reached. Adult education, like formal education, experiences the problem that many of the people it reaches are those who are already comparatively well off Comparative data from Ghana, Uganda and Tanzania have illustrated this for at least one form of adult education (Hall, 1974). Similar findings exist in studies of Agricultural extension where there has been concern and controversy over 'progressive farmer' policies which result in already well off farmers being given preferential treatment over the less fortunate (Raikes and Meynan, 1973). Such surveys of provision will form the basis for an analysis of how to extend coverage to the still very large part of the population which is not now being reached. Studies of this nature will make possible the identification of those programmes which are most strongly linked to questions of distribution of wealth and income.

3. Focus on participation

Increased popular participation in development decisions is seen as desirable and sought after with varying degrees of energy in nearly all African nations. There is a growing awareness that a committed and active involvement of people in decisions which will affect their lives is an essential 'ingredient' in increasing the quality of village or urban poor life. It seems at times so clear; villagers or urban poor populations are the ones who are most familiar with their own problems, with their own realities. What they lack is an ability to articulate in the same way that planners

or administrators do - that reality. Planners, on the other hand, have worked out systematic and focused ways of looking at development, but because they are not living as the people, they have an incomplete awareness of the meaning of underdevelopment or poverty at the human level. The task is one of mobilizing the knowledge and creativity of this vast number of people with the intention of giving a focus which can then be useful in the overall planning process.

As adult education serves as an important source of experience in participatory development, it is crucial that adult education programmes press forward in maintaining and improving within this sphere. More attention could be given to specific ways and methods of achieving what is a very difficult but essential task. Specifically, this means that adult educators should be aware of ways of increasing the participatory nature of educational programmes. How, for example, could the participants be brought in more directly to the question of determination of needs? Are there better ways to mobilize the knowledge and creativity of those involved?

Adult educators could also provide an education input which would stimulate participation in development projects - even physical development projects. In Francistown, Botswana, for example, the Department of extra-mural studies is involved along with other community education personnel in stimulating participation in planning and improvements in the utilisation of a local housing scheme.

Implications for planners.

One of the most obvious implications for development planners

concerned with development in its expanded form is that much more concern, interest and financial commitment, needs to go to non-formal or adult education programmes. The most recent Education Sector working paper from the World Bank stated that "An important implication of this expanded development strategy is that mass education will be an economic as well as a social necessity..... All parts of the population must receive education and training of some kind" (IBRD, 1974: 15)

This is justified by the fact that non-formal education has already established methods and channels of reaching the poor, that non-formal education is cost reducing because it can make use of existing physical facilities, that non-formal education is cost reducing because it can make use of existing physical facilities, that non-formal education is more directly linked to development, and that it has a role in stimulating participation. Specifically there is an immediate need for establishment or expansion of research, training and resource centres in adult education. In order to improve and make adult education still more effective, there is a need for national or regional institutions which can carry out and stimulate research, train adult educators and group leaders, and act as a resource for the production and dissemination of new ideas. In some countries this might mean the building up of university adult education departments, whilst in others the establishment of new institutions or perhaps the realignment of resources which might now be scattered in several institutions.

Experience in Tanzania has indicated the value of an adult education "network", a system of local committees and full time

extension officers from the village to Regional level. Such a network when linked to quickly accessible physical resources such as the community school, provides a framework for many kinds of community education including literacy, mass campaigns, political education and local cultures. An additional challenge to planners and adult educators alike is the concern with integrated development. A broadened concept of development implies a concern for looking at change from a many sectored approach. Reality is a many faceted product. Life in a small village is made up of such aspects as agricultural production, marketing arrangements, credit arrangements, health, nutrition, education and water. All of these inputs are ultimately put into practice in any given village. Planning therefore demands an approach which looks at change from this integrated perspective. An integrated approach to planning which relates adult education to other inputs has not yet been satisfactorily worked out and remains one of the fundamental challenges which non-formal education throws up to planners.

The question of increased popular participation in development planning is another challenge for planners, and the entire concept of planning. There has been increased discussion about the need for increased involvement of the population, both rural and urban in the decision-making process about those things which affect their lives. If this notion is to be more than a somewhat idealistic vision, then those people concerned with the planning process have to give serious and immediate thought to how this can be done. In the examination of various ways to encourage and assure continuing participation, adult educators will be of value for, at the very least, the rhetoric

of participation has been part of the tools of the trade for many years. At best, some adult education programmes such as Radio Educative Rural in Senegal have offered unique examples of programmes based on strong elements of participation.

Summary.

This paper has tried briefly to outline some fundamental changes in thinking about development, to outline some limitations of the restricted economic growth models. Secondly, it has suggested the way in which non-formal or adult education programmes might contribute to a concept of development which stressed distribution of incomes and services. Particular attention has been paid to the importance of non-formal education as an example to formal education in this regard. Finally, some implications for both planners and educators have been put forward which have emphasised the importance of increased emphasis in planning, non-formal education, and the importance within adult education of studies of access, and ways to increase participation.

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